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175 512 782 to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in which the cattle have been confined, and, again addressing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing, (233) and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

241 242 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well. On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

562 "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from (462) what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his (465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male (464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on (262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

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(Rivers, 1906, 236–237). A further item once acquired through Badagas was the above-mentioned vessels used in the sacred *ti:* dairy (Rivers, 1906, 90).

An occasional Toda ritual that Badagas may still attend is the rebuilding or rethatching of a temple. A day or two beforehand some Badaga elders from nearby villages should be invited by their Toda partners. At one such event in 1963 several Badagas made offerings of silver to the Toda temple and quietly made vows before it.

Sometimes when Toda men expect to be busily occupied at some such ceremony they now hire Badaga youths to prepare the food: Toda women could not do this. It is just a matter of convenience, however, and not a traditional element in the bonds between the two communities.

Although Badagas are often invited to a funeral, 'The only part played . . . is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota' (Rivers 1906, 633). This ancient bronze bell has to be tied round the neck of the sacred buffalo as a part of the ritual before it may be sacrificed. Some Badagas do help of their own volition with the Toda's pyre, and in the last century they used to carry the Toda headman *(manegar)* to the ceremony (Ling, 1892, 76).

A frequent guest at Toda council meetings of both a judiciary and a non-judiciary nature is the headman of Tu:ne:ri village, who is paramount chief of the Badagas. His advice is well regarded by the Todas, and he is expected to help mediate in Toda disputes whether or not Badagas are also involved in them (Rivers, 1906, 550, 633; Walker, 1965, 78, 188–189, 193). Formerly the headman of Ba:kola, who was a divisional headman *(parpati)* of the Badagas, would also attend those meetings.

BADAGAS AND KURUMBAS

The Control of Sorcery

Geographically the Kurumbas are much more isolated from the Badagas than are the Todas or Kotas; nevertheless certain Kurumbas have a crucial role in the Badaga community. A Badaga family does not have a specific Kurumba partner, but each commune appoints a particular Kurumba[19] to act as

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gave Badagas superior seed grains from Europe, as well as seeds of various European vegetables.[2] This increased grain production somewhat and started Badagas growing vegetables they were not accustomed to eating. And as the British population increased so did the demand for locally grown European vegetables: a handful of Badaga farmers, being able to supply them, were thus drawn further into the market economy.

One area in which the British tried to effect early changes without success was formal education. In 1820 or 1821 Sullivan founded a school at the Wodea village of De:na:du, directly above Dannaika Ko:te, but the enterprise (prompted no doubt by a need for local clerks) was apparently a failure (Ward, 1821, lxx; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113). In 1830 Sullivan founded another school at Ku:kalu, also in the northeast of the plateau, to teach Badaga boys the Tamil and Kannada languages. Another was probably founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1830 at Dimbatti (Moses, 1964, 11). Among the few youths who acquired some education there was an attitude that is still voiced today and portended changes in the occupation pattern: they considered themselves fitted by schooling for a lifetime of something better than manual labour (Harkness 1832, 69–70). Another school, the first to use English as a medium, was established by a former judge, George J. Casamajor, at Ke:ti in 1845. This became the local headquarters of the Basel Mission in the same year, and a school has been there more or less constantly ever since. (In 1901 it became the first Badaga high school [Francis, 1908, 332; Moses, 1964, 13].) In Casamajor's time parents had to be paid one anna a day before they would send their sons to the school. It was only in the latter half of the century, after the Mission was well established at Ke:ti and elsewhere and several more schools had been founded, that education became at all popular with Badagas. For this achievement German pertinacity should take some credit; but after 1856 Badagas began to realize that literacy in Tamil was the only sure road to jobs in the local bureaucracy and so started to value schooling (Grigg, 1880, 423).

In the early days of European settlement the British frequently needed day-labourers to do jobs in the developing Nilgiri towns. A large number of lowland immigrants now lived and worked in these towns, but Badagas were also occasionally hired by Englishmen and paid a daily rate in cash. Around 1827, however, it had been observed that

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> The hill people are so independent. . .that no temptation of wages will induce them to engage . . . as coolies, and they are only prevailed upon to work from a conviction that, refusing to do so, Government might make some just demands against them for increase of rent [land revenue]. . . .[4]

By the 1840s there were many Badaga families earning a certain amount during a few months of each year from townspeople, from plantations and perhaps from the new Mission (Ouchterlony, 1848, 64; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64). Their economy was now monetized, though the majority of families were still dependent on farming for their food requirements.

EXPANSION OF THE MARKET ECONOMY (1850–1900)

During the second half of the nineteenth century far-reaching economic changes triggered by the British settlers introduced the concept of competition and the importance of valuation to the Badagas. There is little indication of any competitiveness in their indigenous exchange activities or bartering practices before about 1840.

The opening of coffee (1838) and tea (1846) plantations on the plateau called for a great deal of manual labour; and by the 1850s many Badaga men found themselves competing for the first time with immigrants in a labour market.[5] Each group constituted one-half of the work force (Grigg, 1880, 399), but the British estate owners now preferred Badaga workers to immigrants because of their diligence. The labourers were paid in cash, not grain.

Secondly, the sizeable European population on the hills was now requiring quantities of cabbage, carrot, potato and other European vegetables which some Badaga farmers were able to supply. Their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was readily adapted to the new crops (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 35); and their venture was helped by a climate not unlike that of northwestern Europe (an English poet later was to muse on 'the sweet, half-English Neilgherry air').

During the latter half of the century a wide variety of indigenous farm products also found their way into the local market.[6] These foodstuffs were local varieties of wheat and barley, Italian, finger and slender millet, prince's feather (or amaranth), mustard seed,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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planters or to engage in new occupations so as to earn enough cash to maintain themselves and pay the revenue assessments on their land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 325, 471, 480; Ranga, 1934, 11–14). Those made landless by the restrictions on forest swidden cultivation and also the labour surplus of the immigrant and rapidly expanding population were obliged to work in the plantations for wages, which were primarily used for buying grain in the markets. By 1870 Badaga men were getting contracts as construction gangs, a few women were picking tea or coffee-beans and young boys could be seen breaking stones by the roadside.[10]

Early in this century most Badaga families still owned and cultivated land within two kilometres of their homes. This land was usually hilly and always unirrigated. There was relatively little terracing on the hill-slopes (Grigg, 1880, 470), and most tilling was still done with ploughs and oxen.[11] The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream water as because of the rich deposit of topsoil. Badagas had long recognized the differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant crops and when dividing up the patrimony. Soil distinctions were important to them, but distance from the home was even more significant. Land was therefore categorized by Badagas primarily as home-farm (within a half kilometre), outfield, or jungle clearings.[2] The first type got much of the cattle manure and all human refuse; more distant land received little manure and was often left fallow (Grigg, 1880, 319–320, quoting from a Revenue Board Report probably of 1863); jungle clearings were never manured and could lie fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was mostly confined to the more valuable crops growing near the home.

A majority of the cultivable land on the plateau has always belonged to the Badagas; in the mid-nineteenth century this amounted to 12,750 hectares, of which some 6,900 ha. were cultivated each year; but thirty years later 'the occupied area of the plateau has trebled itself... mainly due to the extension of cultivation by the Badaga villagers'. During the twentieth century virtually all of the land under subsistence crops (barley, millets and wheat) as well as plateau land growing market vegetables and fruits was farmed by Badagas and Kotas. On the other hand a majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona was in British-owned plantations. Few reliable figures

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control on quality and could bring together sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worthwhile. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing cash crops, middlemen appeared not only to buy up small quantities of tea, coffee and potato but also to sell seed, fertilizer and even some insurance.

After Independence profiteering by the middlemen was largely checked by the Nilgiri Cooperative Marketing Society set up with state government aid (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249). Today there are nearly two hundred cooperative societies in the Nilgiris which pool the resources of members and also supply cheap fertilizer. Many such societies own local tea-processing factories and warehouses and are dominated by Badagas. After 1957 heavy loss through potato disease caused a widespread shift to tea or coffee growing,[22] and in the 1970s large acreages have been devoted to growing a sturdy new German variety of cabbage which finds markets nation-wide. Both tea and cabbage are quite successful crops. The availability of help from the Central Cooperative Bank made these unexpected switches in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would have rendered the new venture unfeasible. Several cottage industries have also helped diversify the rural economy over the past thirty years; in particular beekeeping, liquor distilling, milk sales, knitting and embroidery have provided new, regular sources of income for many hundreds of Badaga families.

The early twentieth century saw the rise not only of wealthy Badaga land-owners but also of large-scale labour contractors. A few men profitted by getting the contracts for gangs to dig pits for planting tea-cuttings, pick coffee-beans, build roads or construct public buildings in the district.[23] Less wealthy Badagas set themselves up as small shopkeepers, tailors or money-lenders or found work in a wide variety of urban trades.[24] Whenever possible the more resourceful reinvested their profits in land (Ranga, 1934, 10), either tea and coffee estates or farm plots formerly belonging to Kotas (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240). The other reinvestment commonly made was in college education for their sons. With the economy fully monetized the stress was now on providing stability for the coming generations.

MODERN EMPLOYMENT

Prior to World War I virtually all Badagas were cultivators, and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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463 the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the 592 year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (462) (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1821, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202: Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for (883) all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in (857) the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day. (887) People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

463 This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few (178) were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began (464) working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs (871) many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

496 A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the (478) breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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a large landowner this latter system was quite efficient and profitable, even though he had to feed those who were working in his fields and was also obliged to give them a big feast on the last day of their field-work *(kambuwa)* which enhanced social solidarity. These two techniques of co-operative labour also benefitted the landless, for they could thereby share in the harvest of someone else or at least be more regularly fed.

In the early decades of this century immigrant Kanarese and Tamilians, some of them the creditors of Badaga farmers, began to buy up former Badaga land and farm it with the help of labourers, both poor Badagas and immigrants. It was probably this trend which led those who worked on Badaga farms to expect payment in cash rather than a share of the harvest or a mutual exchange of labour. Those patterns of co-operation have passed away. The educated would now rather remain unemployed than work in a neighbour's field, and with the transition to cash-crop farming most feel it is not worth helping someone else reap his profit. Things were different when co-operative farming helped put food into the village's granary baskets.

Among rural Badagas the old order has not been replaced by a class society. We can only identify a land-owning class, a tenant class and a labouring class in the larger rural society which embraces other communities as well. The land-owners who are Badagas generally prefer Tamilian or Kanarese tenants, as it is easier to lay down stiff terms for rental and to become stern when such non-Badagas fail to pay the rent after an unsuccessful season. Badaga tenants have too many ways of pressuring their landlord into overlooking their inability to pay rent on time. The agricultural labourers are normally lowland immigrants, too. It is considered somewhat demeaning for Badagas to take on such work, especially under a Badaga proprietor. Social classes are thus not yet to be found among Badaga villagers, and the three main social categories in farming are seen by Badagas as occupational and caste differences.

The present range of occupations of both Badagas and other rural communities is suggested by Table 3, derived from a rough sample of adolescent and adult males aged 15 to 85. Clearly farm work is still the most prevalent activity, but now a substantial proportion of men in the rural population are working in occupations (categories V to IX) that typify participation in a monetary economy.[27]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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1836; Metz, 1864, 6–7; Grigg, 1880, 456–458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 203, 441.

3. Metz, 1864, 8–9; an anna was 1/16 rupee, worth just under one U.S. cent today.

4. Grigg, 1880, 288, quoting from a report of December 1827; yet Harkness, 1832, 111, remarked that 'The poorer Burghers form the only class of labourers now to be procured on the hills . . .'

5. B.E.M.S., 1848, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 510–511; Watt, 1889, 465; Francis, 1908, 171, 178; Tanna, 1970, 17, 37. Tea was first grown here experimentally in 1835 from Chinese seeds, and coffee in 1838; Macleane, 1893, 403.

6. Baikie, 1857, 38, 92; Markham, 1862, 367; Metz, 1864, 99, 152–154; Ouchterlony, 1848, 2, 5, 28; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 71; Grigg, 1880, 465–467. The more important items in the list are identified botanically above, p. 146, n. 7.

7. Transferred back to Coimbatore District from Malabar in 1860; Grigg, 1880, 309, 322–323; Macleane, 1893, 216; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 78–79.

8. Grigg, 1880, 316, 321. On the shortcomings of their agriculture in this period, see Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 31–36; Grigg, 1880, 480; 'Geofry', 1881, 132–135.

9. Grigg, 1880, 325. The Settlement of land holdings took place in 1864–1884; Grigg, 1880, 321–323.

10. B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; McPherson, 1870, 15, 18, 21; Grigg, 1880, 34, 219–220. Tea-pickers were usually lowland labourers, for Badaga women were then afraid of being near jungle even when in gangs.

11. A few ploughs are still in use near the Si:gu:ru Pass; other villages preserve old ploughs to venerate at an annual ceremony; but in general ploughs went out of use fifty years ago; Ranga, 1934, 8.

12. Francis, 1908, 165–166; Ranga, 1934, 11–14. The lands are called respectively *ha:jihola*, *ka:duhola* and *so:lahola*; see Plate I.

13. Grigg, 1880, 13, citing Ouchterlony, 1848, 14; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 14. It may be illuminating to cite an example of one administrative 'village'—Ke:ti Village—which reflects how much of the plateau land was formerly owned by Badagas. The available figures come from the 1881 land settlement records and show how 3235 hectares of this particular 'village' (actually a grouping of nearly two dozen villages) were distributed in the last years before the widespread adoption there of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	2,083 ha.
Badaga grazing ground	204 ha.
Toda grazing lands	51 ha.
Village sites (mainly Badaga)	90 ha.
Government forest areas	123 ha.
Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	307 ha.
Plantations (mainly British-owned)	175 ha.
Government cinchona plantation	2 ha.
Available for sale	200 ha.

(Source: Benson, 1881, 188–189)

From these data it is clear that this area, by no means an atypical one, was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 200 h.a. 'for sale' is somewhat misleading: it

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was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1903 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vasoːle, Kolekombe, Soːlas, Gudaluːru, Manjuːru, Kiːkotagiri, Neḍugula, and Naduvaṭṭa; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

from Ketti took the shredded remnant of a hunting net and two spears to a point upon the mountainside behind Ketti. While two men held up the net remnant, two with spears charged at it. Then all sat in a circle and sang folk songs before returning the equipment to the Hirodaya temple. Using these examples, it seems likely that the Badagas once hunted with nets and spears. Now they use muzzle-loaders, shotguns, and rifles. Although a few go hunting, most guns are employed in the protection of crops from such animals as black-naped hares (Lepus nigricollis F. Cuv.), pigs, and porcupines.

Other occupations. From the time Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiris, outside employment became available. Both poor and wealthier Badagas took advantage of ever-increasing job opportunities. By 1829 many poorer Badagas were performing all types of labor (Hough 1829: 96). In 1860 a few were working on coffee plantations, but by 1868 many males were working as artisans or laborers on European-owned plantations (Markham 1862: 376; Shortt 1868: 58). There were Badaga clerks, cordite factory workers, building and road contractors, forest guards, gardeners, and school teachers by 1909, and before 1934 wage earning became the main means of livelihood for many Badagas (Thurston 1909, 1: 63; Ranga 1934: 11). Badagas are presently employed in the Government of India Cordite Factory, the Needle Industries (India) Ltd., and the Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Company in the Nilgiris. Some Badagas have a high school education, and a few are university graduates. As a result, there are Badaga clerks and professionals employed in private industries, or in positions with the